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LUKE BECKERDITE



*Figure 1. Tea cups and saucers, Bristol, England, 1730-1750, tin-enamelled earthenware. Diameter of tea cups  $3\frac{1}{4}$ , Diameter of saucers 5. Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

## *The Consumption of Delftware in Kent County, Maryland 1740-1780*

GLORIA SEAMAN ALLEN

Relatively few small objects of daily use remain from the eighteenth-century South to attest to a former abundance of such material possessions. Recent scholarship concerning the Chesapeake has generated interest in the material culture of that region, though many household accessories, particularly ceramics, can now only be documented by archaeological evidence or written records.

A survey of a specific category of household goods from a specific locale can be of interest for several reasons. The consumption of goods transmitted in the English mercantile network, such as ceramics, was vital to the British economy in the eighteenth century. The North American colonies provided a new and important market for English manufactures. Although not fully explained, the dramatic increase in demand during the eighteenth century was stimulated by active marketing, a wide selection of goods in every price range, and easy credit terms. Steadily rising wealth, particularly in the Chesapeake region, also contributed to increased demand especially from those who had not formerly been able to afford the luxury of imported manufactured goods. Related to this demand were technological innovations and production increases which put Britain at the forefront of all industrial nations by the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, expanded consumerism in the eighteenth century led directly to Britain's position as the leader of the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century.

Delftware of English, and, to a lesser degree, Dutch manufacture, was only one of the many varieties of ceramic wares offered by British merchants. The consumption of all types of ceramics deserves detailed study, but delftware is particularly interesting because it is generally perceived as having been a coarser ware for use by the middle or lower classes. It was certainly cheaper and less fine than the Chinese porcelain it imitated. Analyzing the estate inventories from a socio-economic cross section of an integral community makes it possible to determine who could afford or choose to own delftware. Inventories also reveal when delftware was fashionable, what forms were preferred, and how it was used in relation to other household goods. Knowledge derived from a study such as this is pertinent to our interpretation of historic sites, our recreation of period interiors and our understanding of the function of artifacts isolated in museum settings.

Kent County, Maryland was chosen for this survey because of the availability and accessibility of relatively complete probate records which begin in 1709. Kent County, located on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake, is bounded on the north by the Sassafrass River, on the south by the Chester River, and on the west by the state of Delaware. In the eighteenth century the county was relatively affluent, and with the important port of Chestertown as its county seat, it was in the mainstream of commercial activity in the Chesapeake region.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, a diversified agricultural system placed Kent County at an advantage over other Maryland and Virginia counties still dependent upon tobacco as their primary source of income. Active export trade with the West Indies became centered on the Eastern Shore, particularly at Chestertown, a port of entry with authority to collect customs. In return for exports of tobacco, corn, wheat, lumber and naval stores, Chestertown received manufactured goods from the West Indies, Azores, Europe and England. The brisk trade stimulated agricultural production and fostered related industries in the form of flour milling and bread making. Ship building and refitting, ship's stores and the manufacturing of cordage were also important to the economy of Kent County. The ferry system between Rock Hall and Annapolis provided access to imported luxuries from Annapolis shops, and the post road, which passed through Chestertown, was a link with the port of Philadelphia.

Prosperity continued until the 1770's when increasing restric-



tions, resulting from hostilities with Britain, finally curtailed trade in the network of waterways forming the Chesapeake Bay system. After the Revolution, Chestertown never regained its former prominence as a port and customs clearing house. Commerce in the Chesapeake region became centered in Baltimore with its accessible harbor and expanding inland trade.



*Figure 2. Coffee cup, Lambeth, England, 1740-1760, tin-enamelled earthenware. HOA  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , Diameter  $2\frac{3}{8}$ , Diameter with handle  $3\frac{1}{4}$ . Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

Kent County estate inventories provide considerable information about the economic and social structure of this Eastern Shore community. Although they do not include land holdings, they do list goods and chattels and reveal in detail the material possessions of the decedents. A survey of inventories over time reveals changes in the selection and value of possessions. Therefore, these inventories are valuable documents of the ownership or consumption of a specific category of trade goods, such as ceramics or textiles.<sup>1</sup>

The results from an inventory study must be viewed with caution. Although inventories are especially useful in areas like

Kent County where little material culture remains and archaeological excavations are only beginning, they do not provide evidence of the consumption patterns of the total society. While it was common for inventories of wealthy estates to be drawn, fewer exist for the poor.<sup>2</sup> In Maryland, the law did not require an inventory of the estate at the time of death, although it was customary to have one made to protect the interests of the legatees and to satisfy the creditors. Men with negligible estates, particularly tenants or non-landholders, were often not inventoried. The possessions of married women, unless they were widows, were included in the husband's estate, and children's estates were almost never inventoried.

Inventories are biased towards an older population, since the decedent was generally middle-aged or older and had acquired wealth and material possessions over a period of years. A survey of the living population, which would include young people in the beginning stages of wealth and material acquisitions, would produce different results.

Inventories reflect past acquisitions. In dealing with changes in consumption patterns, the data is distorted by the inability to determine when goods were acquired. The ceramic holdings of one decedent might have been purchased within a few years prior to death, while those of another were acquired over the duration of a long lifetime. It is also impossible to determine, due to the unspecific nature of Kent County wills, what possessions were excluded from the inventories by will or by wife's portion. Inventories are further biased by the experience and interests of the appraisers. Although there are listings detailed to the last cracked saucer, some appraisers, through haste or lack of knowledge, listed objects by generic names such as pots or bowls without attempting specific descriptions. Others lumped similar goods into parcels. These maddening generalizations prevent an accurate tabulation of a specific type of possession.

In spite of all their shortcomings and their biased reporting, inventories are important to the study of material culture. Although they do not encompass the total population of a community, they provide information about the possessions of a far broader economic segment than that which is possible to obtain from viewing heirlooms preserved by museums or from reading the personal and business documents of the literate.

Complete sets of Kent County inventories exist from 1709. They are compiled in volumes, now located in the Maryland Hall

of Records at Annapolis. For the purpose of this study, sixty inventories from each of three time periods have been analyzed in detail. Sixty inventories from three additional time periods have been analyzed to determine trends.<sup>3</sup> All ceramics appearing in the inventories have been recorded. The survey periods of 1740, 1760 and 1780 cover a time span in which Kent County reached the height of its prosperity from trade; this was also the period when delftware reached the height of its popularity in colonial America.<sup>4</sup> The quality of listings varies, but in general inventories recorded during the 1760's describe objects in the greatest detail, while those from the 1780's combine goods into parcels or frequently use the terms "some" or a "quantity of." Room-by-room listings are not given, nor are ceramics necessarily listed in context with other objects in the room. They are frequently listed all together, usually followed by glasswares. It is therefore not always possible to determine where an object was used, and it is almost impossible to determine where it was stored or displayed.

If inventories, in general, fail to report the household effects of total community and are biased toward the wealthy with the most possessions, the inventories from Kent County also do not report all of the ceramic holdings. Since the terms "parcel," "some" and "quantity" do not describe actual numbers of objects, these references have been eliminated from the study. Terminology presents further problems. A great deal of delftware may be hidden in the categories of "earthenware" or in the unspecified ceramics. By the 1760's the term delftware (delph, deft, or delf) was generally used, but in the 1740's it was rarely used. In the earlier inventories objects described as "Holland ware," "blue earthenware," "whiteware" and "blue and white" have been classified as delftware in this study.<sup>5</sup> By the 1780's the lack of specific descriptions by the appraisers may also mask the presence of delftware. Therefore, the tabulations of delftware usage in Kent County are very conservative. Systematic archaeological excavations would undoubtedly turn up far more ceramic evidence than that which has been revealed by the inventories.

To analyze delftware and other ceramic holdings by economic level of the owners, the sixty decedents in each time period were divided into wealth groups. Since this study deals with a period in which a sizable increase in median estate value<sup>6</sup> was coupled with changing currency values due to inflation of the Maryland pound, a more valid comparison of estates during the various

periods is made by distributing the sixty decedents by their capital possessions rather than by total real estate value. The vast majority of Kent County decedents appear to have been planters who owned land.<sup>7</sup> The more affluent had the capital to purchase bonded labor.<sup>8</sup> A few were tenants who did not own land.<sup>9</sup> Since owning land and slaves required money, those with large numbers of slaves had high estate values, while the tenants had low estate values. For the purpose of this study, the decedents have been divided into tenants, landowners, small slave holders (1-3) and large slave holders (4 or more).<sup>10</sup>



*Figure 3. Teapot, Lambeth, England, 1730-1750, tin-enamelled earthenware. HOA 3¾, Diameter 6⅞. Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

Appendix A-1 shows the distribution of decedents by capital holdings. Tenancy declined during the prosperity of the 1750-60's, but increased in the 1780's as many faced indebtedness from the cessation of trade due to the hostilities with England. Small landowners and those with few bondservants declined in the 1780's, but the decedents with large land and slave holdings increased in number and maintained their wealth through diverse professional activities and increased indebtedness.<sup>11</sup>

When these same groupings of decedents are analyzed for their ceramic possessions, it is clear that ownership in ceramics is directly related to economic status and capital ownership (Appendix A-2). Only three of the twenty tenants had any ceramics at all. The great majority of slaveless landowners had ceramics, and all but one of the slave holders owned ceramics. Ceramics were found

in conjunction with wood and pewter, so that in some cases objects in other materials filled the need for pottery. There is no appreciable change in ceramic ownership over time except for a slight increase in the slaveless landowner group.<sup>12</sup>

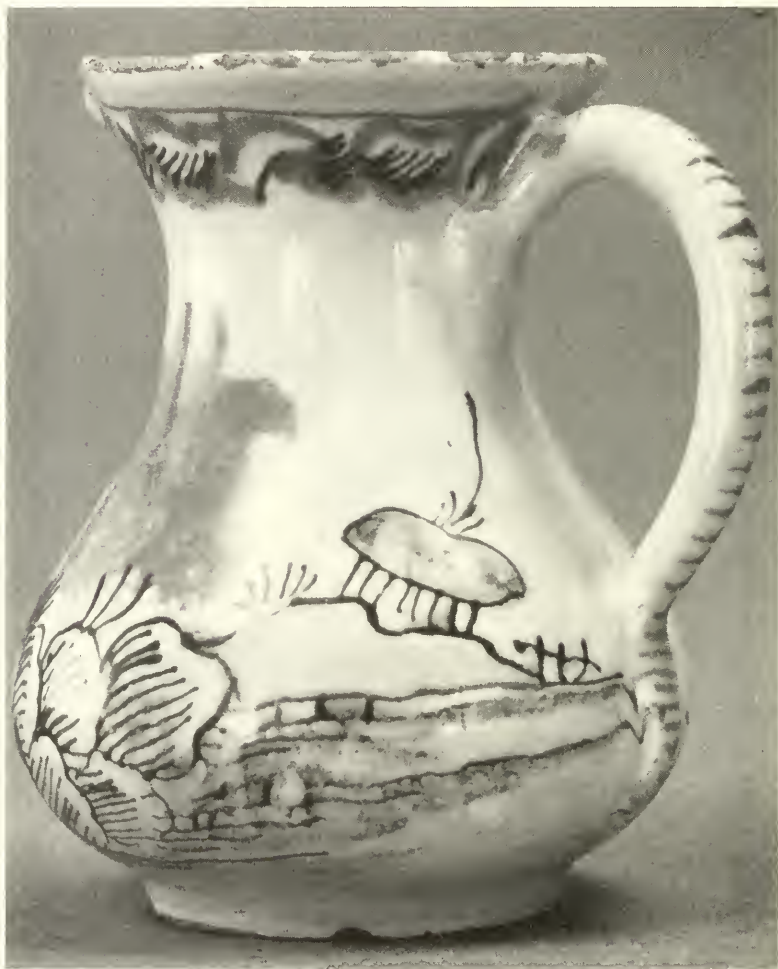
Appendix A-3 uses the same wealth distribution to analyze ownership of delftware. The figures are interesting in that they reveal a shift in usage. No tenants were found to have been owners of delftware throughout the period of study, and small landowners without slaves also apparently did not possess delftware during the 1740's. Only three out of thirteen small slaveholders during this period owned delftware, while over half of the large slaveholders owned delft. In the 1760's a few of the lower middle class or slaveless landowners had delftware, and almost half of the small slaveholders and more than half of the large slaveholders had delftware. By the 1780's there was a further shift in ownership down the social scale. About one-third of the slaveless landowners now owned delftware, while the percentage of delftware owners in both slaveholding groups declined to about one-third. In other words, delftware in Kent County appears to have been owned only by people in the upper or middle classes. On an overall basis, the highest percentage of delftware owners belonged to the most affluent group, that is, landowners with four or more slaves. Over time, however, delftware ownership by the affluent eroded so that by 1780 just as many individuals in the lower middle class owned delftware as those in the top social class. While delftware gained in popularity among the less affluent, it seemed to have lost popularity with the wealthy who sought more fashionable ceramics such as creamware to fill the needs formerly met by delftware. In the survey, only 27% of the decedent population had delftware, while 86% of the population had ceramics of some kind.

Appendix A-4 shows the mean number of delftware objects owned by decedents in each wealth group. Social or income level appears to have had little effect on how many pieces of delft were in the household. However, there was significant change over time. In the 1740's and 1760's (Appendix D), those who had delftware owned a set of plates, several punch bowls, and some teaware, while in the 1780's ownership declined substantially to a token dish or bowl and only a few plates. The lower middle class, while able to purchase delftware by the 1780's, did not acquire table or teaware sets, but rather a few odd pieces. The more affluent who still had delftware left in their estates at that



time may have retained a dish, a bowl, or a few plates for display purposes. It is probable that most of the dinner plates and teaware went into trash pits, as delftware was highly fragile and not well suited to frequent use.

Delftware was usually found in households that had pewter and silver. Homes without delftware or china rarely ever had silver. Pewter flatware seems to have been used with delft tablewares, while silver spoons were used with china or delft teawares.



*Figure 4. Milk jug or cream pot, Liverpool, England, 1750-1770, tin-enamelled earthenware. Diameter  $2\frac{3}{4}$ , Diameter of body  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , Diameter of foot ring  $1\frac{3}{8}$ . Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

From the study of Kent County inventories one can also determine the use of other types of ceramics by the total decedent population and by the delftware owners alone. Appendix B-1 shows the number of decedents or households with delftware in relation to those with earthenwares, stonewares, china, Queensware and other unspecified ceramics.<sup>13</sup>

The findings indicate that most households used several types of ceramic wares. The all-purpose earthenwares remained the favorite throughout the 40-year period, but stonewares and delftwares increased in popularity at mid-century and declined by the 1780's. China (porcelain) gained in popularity and was used in over a third of the households by the 1760's.<sup>14</sup> Queensware was not available to those who died prior to 1762, but its use in twelve households by 1780 indicates that it may have replaced delftware and white saltglazed stoneware in these households.<sup>15</sup> A look at Appendix B-2, which shows other ceramics owned by delftware owners, further confirms this. Only two of the sixteen households with delftware also had creamware. One-half to three-quarters of the delftware users also had china, and presumably they were used together; this is indicated by the listing of "1 Sett Tea ware part China pt Delph" in the inventory of lawyer Jervas Spencer. Stoneware, probably saltglazed, was referred to as "White Stone" in inventories, and was also popular among delftware users. Stoneware and delftware were similarly priced and presented an alternative or complement to the more expensive china.

Ceramics also may be classified by function or how they were intended to be used. In a study of artifacts from sites in St. Mary's City, Maryland, Gary Wheeler Stone divides the ceramic forms commonly found in inventories and archaeological sites into the following overall categories:<sup>16</sup>

Dairy/Kitchen: fat and pickle pots, milk pans, jars, jugs and bottles

Dining/Social: punch bowls and other bowls

Social: All chocolate, tea and coffee wares

Hygiene: chamber pots, wash basins and drug wares.<sup>17</sup>

Using these classifications (Appendix C-1), it is clear that delftware, identified as such, apparently saw little or no use in the kitchen, and only occasional use for hygienic or health purposes, in the form of drug pots or wash basins.<sup>18</sup> It was primarily used as table, beverage, and teawares; such usage peaked in the 1760's or perhaps a bit earlier.<sup>19</sup> Earthenwares were used

for all ceramic functions, although they were less popular for beverage and food service. Stonewares have always been used in the kitchen, but white saltglazed wares achieved popularity by the mid-eighteenth century in the form of dinner plates and serving vessels. Stoneware also was well suited for use as teaware since its vitrified body could better withstand hot liquids. China or porcelain, like delft, was used on both the dining and tea table and for social occasions requiring a punch bowl. Queensware quickly became popular as tableware and to a lesser extent as a beverage ware. Since several different types of ceramics serve similar functions, they were probably mixed together. There are several inventory examples of teaware consisting of black earthenware teapots with white stoneware cream pots or of mixtures of china, delftware and stoneware. In 1739, the merchant Philip Kennard had "8 cups and saucers Delftware" with "9 China Cups & Saucers,"<sup>20</sup> and some years later the farmer/lawyer William Thomas used an "Earthen tea/pot" with "6 cups & 5 saucers burnt China," "6 cups & 4 saucers, 1 Tea pott, creampot, sugar pot, blue and white China," "3 Earth. Coffee Cups" and "5 Stone Saucers."<sup>21</sup> In 1759 farmer George Cooper mixed china coffee cups and saucers with stone teapots, creampots, cups and saucers, and a delft sugar pot and cups and saucers.<sup>22</sup>

Appendix D lists all the pieces of delftware found in the households of the 49 decedents who had that type of ceramic ware. The kitchen/dairy category was omitted because no delftware with that function could be identified. Several conclusions may be drawn from the chart. By the late 1750's, the number and variety of forms of delftware had increased substantially, especially in the tea and coffee wares. Teacups were described as cups, rather than bowls, and coffee cups may have been represented by the undefined term "cups." Cannisters for tea rather than caddies, tea pot stands and slop bowls were sometimes included with the teaware sets. Plates increased dramatically as people gave up their wooden trenchers or pewter plates and opted for the more colorful ceramic tablewares. They were acquired by the dozen or half-dozen. Paradoxically, as delft plates increased in use, individual knives and forks also increased. It was this usage of sharp eating utensils, replacing hands and spoons, which contributed to the demise of delftware with its very fragile glazed surface.<sup>23</sup> The small number of plates found in the 1780 survey confirms that delftware plates were no longer in common use as



tableware. Creamware plates filled the need for a decorative but durable tableware.

Punch bowls continued to be popular up to the 1760's, but by the 1780's the adjective "punch" was not used to define delftware bowls. Scanning inventories from 1800 and 1820 confirms that this term had gone out of use. Bowls for individual drinking or for serving punch declined as glass drinking vessels increased in number. Delft wash basins were also popular at mid-century, but they were never mentioned in conjunction with water bottles. By the 1780's delftware forms had declined to such an extent that the most frequent forms out of a total of 77 delft objects listed were plates, dishes and bowls. Dishes, which were valued at 3 or 4 times the value of plates, were probably large serving dishes. They may have been the form known in other locales as "charger."<sup>24</sup> The limited number of forms of delftware pieces found in the 1780's indicates that these pieces may have been possessed for their ceremonial or socio-technic qualities,<sup>25</sup> rather than for their functional ones. A bowl, a large dish, or even one or two plates in brightly painted earthenware could serve as decoration long after they were cracked or otherwise damaged and no longer useful. Indeed, the 1783 inventory of Jessie Cosden lists a "cracked delph bowl."<sup>26</sup>

Determining early values for delftware or other ceramics is difficult. Frequently several objects were listed together with one price for the lot. For example, in the 1761 inventory of farmer Philip Kennard "1 Delph Tea pott, slop bowl sugar do and 1 creampot" are all listed for two shillings, six pence.<sup>27</sup> It is usually impossible to determine size, condition, or quality of decoration, all of which were factors that affected value. By taking forms with little variation in size such as plates or cups with saucers and then averaging their inventory values, it is possible to make a rough comparison between the values of delftware, stoneware, and china over the forty-year period of the survey (see Appendix E). During that period, values remained quite constant in spite of inflation of the Maryland pound.<sup>28</sup> Delftware and stoneware plates and cups with saucers were comparable to each other in price, while china ranged in value from three to six times the value of the other wares. Painted delftware was clearly an inexpensive substitute for china even though it was owned by the wealthiest citizens of Kent County.



*Figure 5. Two quart mug, England, handle inscribed "IG 1739," tin-enamelled earthenware. HOA 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ . Depth with handle 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ . Depth of body 7. Courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

In summarizing the findings of this study, it may be said that delftware was not a product found in the majority of Kent County household inventories, but it was available to and used by over a fourth of the community, mainly its more affluent citizens. Those who owned delftware had a number of pieces, and used it in conjunction with many other ceramic types. It was preferred for table use, alcoholic beverages, and teawares, and was considerably less expensive than the china it imitated and was used with. It was competitive with white stonewares in use and value,

but both of these wares began to be replaced by Queensware in the 1780's, particularly for table use. The inventories support archaeological evidence from various sites, and clearly show that delftware usage in Kent County had peaked by the 1760's, not only in the number of owners, but also in the variety of forms and the quantity of objects per household.

Inventories prior to the 1740 study, and especially from around 1710, only contain three references to possible delftware objects.<sup>29</sup> Instead, the ceramic objects are all described as earthenware used in conjunction with wooden trenchers, pewter plates or vessels, and Indian bowls. At this time, twenty-two out of sixty decedents had no ceramics at all.

At the other end of the survey, out of 120 inventories scanned from 1800 and 1820, "delftware" is only mentioned twice.<sup>30</sup> In addition to generalized crockery and earthenware listings, the decedents had ceramics described as "Liverpool," "Queensware," "Edgeware," "greene" or "blue edge" and "lustre." These wares were used occasionally with china and stoneware, and increasingly with quantities of glassware.<sup>31</sup> Ninety-two percent of the population at this time had ceramics, and cream-colored earthenwares, especially plates, dominated their holdings.

## APPENDIX A

### 1. Wealth Distribution

	1740	1760	1780	Total in Group
	No. / %	No. / %	No. / %	No. / %
Tenants	9/15%	3/4%	8/13%	20/11%
Landowners	19/32%	19/32%	16/27%	54/30%
Landowners with 1-3 slaves	18/30%	16/27%	11/18%	45/25%
Landowners with 4 or more slaves	14/23%	22/37%	25/42%	61/34%
Totals	60/100%	60/100%	60/100%	180/100%

### 2. Ceramic Distribution

	1740	1760	1780	Total in Group
	No. / %	No. / %	No. / %	No. / %
Tenants	1/11%	0/0%	2/25%	3/15%
Landowners	15/79%	17/89%	14/88%	46/85%
Landowners with 1-3 slaves	18/100%	15/94%	11/100%	44/98%
Landowners with 4 or more slaves	14/100%	22/100%	25/100%	61/100%
Totals	48/80%	54/90%	52/87%	154/86%

### 3. Delftware Distribution

	1740	1760	1780	Total in Group
	No. / %	No. / %	No. / %	No. / %
Tenants	0/0%	0/0%	0/0%	0/0%
Landowners	0/0%	3/16%	5/31%	8/15%
Landowners with 1-3 slaves	3/17%	7/44%	3/27%	13/29%
Landowners with 4 or more slaves	8/57%	12/55%	8/32%	28/46%
Totals	11/18%	22/37%	16/27%	49/27%

### 4. Mean Number of Delftware Objects Owned Per Decedent

	1740	1760	1780	
Tenants	0	0	0	
Landowners	0	17	5	
Landowners with 1-3 slaves	4	10	4	
Landowners with 4 or more slaves	20*	19	6	
Mean per total delftware owners	15*	17	5	

\*This figure is distorted upwards by Dr. J. Cruikshank's ownership of "½ gross of galley pots."

## APPENDIX B

### 1. Distribution of Ceramic Types by Decedents

	1740	1760	1780	Total Decedents w/ Each Ceramic Type
	No. / %	No. / %	No. / %	
Delftware	11 / 18%	22 / 37%	16 / 27%	49 / 27%
Earthenware	42 / 70%	44 / 73%	31 / 52%	117 / 65%
Stoneware	16 / 27%	36 / 60%	31 / 52%	83 / 46%
China	15 / 25%	20 / 33%	20 / 33%	55 / 31%
Queensware	0 / 0%	0 / 0%	12 / 20%	12 / 7%
Unspecified	15 / 25%	32 / 53%	38 / 63%	85 / 47%
Total Decedents w/ Any Ceramics	48 / 100%	54 / 100%	52 / 100%	154 / 86%

### 2. Distribution of Ceramic Types by Decedents Owning Delftware

	1740	1760	1780	Total Decedents w/ Each Ceramic Type
	No. / %	No. / %	No. / %	
Delftware	11 / 100%	22 / 100%	16 / 100%	49 / 100%
Earthenware	11 / 100%	19 / 86%	8 / 50%	38 / 78%
Stoneware	5 / 45%	16 / 73%	13 / 81%	34 / 69%
China	9 / 82%	11 / 50%	10 / 63%	30 / 61%
Queensware	0 / 0%	0 / 0%	2 / 13%	2 / 4%
Unspecified	7 / 64%	13 / 59%	12 / 75%	32 / 65%

## APPENDIX C

### Distribution of Ceramic Types by Usage (Per Decedent)

	Dairy/Kitchen			Dining			Dining/Social		
	1740	1760	1780	1740	1760	1780	1740	1760	1780
Delftware				4	18	9	5	12	10
Earthenware	39	44	24	18	22	9	5	13	2
Stoneware	13	25	20	6	15	17	1	2	
China				3	9	8	5	7	6
Queensware						10			
Unspecified	8	18	22	6	12	20	8	4	13
Total Decedents w/ Any Ceramics	48	54	52	48	54	52	48	54	52

## APPENDIX C (Continued)

### Distribution of Ceramic Types by Usage (Per Decedent)

	Social			Hygiene		
	1740	1760	1780	1740	1760	1780
Delftware	4	13	3	3	3	
Earthenware	7	5	2	7	3	6
Stoneware		17	2		1	
China	14	20	13		1	
Queensware			3			
Unspecified	5	13	26	2	5	
Total Decedents w/ Any Ceramics	48	54	52	48	54	52

# APPENDIX D

## Delftware Forms and Frequency

Function	Form	1740	1760	1780	Totals
Dining	Plates	32	153	24	209
	Dishes	10	13	9	32
	Soup Plates		18		18
	Butter Boats		1	1	2
	Fish Dishes			1	1
	Spoon Dishes	1			1
Dining/Social	Punch Bowls	15	20		35
	Bowls	2	40	18	60
	Mugs	3		1	4
Social	Teaware Sets		4 Sets = 20*		4
	Teapots	4	7		11
	Teapot Stands		1		1
	Cannisters		2		2
	Cups	15	25	8	48
	Saucers	14	37	10	61
	Tea Cups		6		6
	Coffee Cups	6	5	5	16
	Sugar Dishes		3		3
	Cream Pots		1		1
	Slop Bowls		1		1
Hygiene	Wash Basins		11		11
	Gallipots	81**	5		86
Totals		183	370	76	629

\*Set = teapot, cannister, sugar dish, cream pot, slop bowl (arbitrary assemblage).

\*\*The totals for 1740 are distorted by the presence of 74 gallipots in the possession of one doctor.

Hollow Forms	126**	148	44	318
Flat Forms	57	222	32	311

# APPENDIX E

## Mean Ceramic Values

	1740	1760	1780
Plate			
Delftware	3 pence	6 pence	5 pence
Stoneware	—	7 pence	4 pence
China	1 shilling, 6 pence	2 shillings	2 shillings
Cup and Saucer			
Delftware	4 pence	5 pence	4 pence
Stoneware	—	4 pence	—
China	1 shilling, 6 pence	1 shilling	1 shilling, 6 pence

Note: One shilling = 12 pence.



## FOOTNOTES

1. The same group of decedents has been used by the author as the basis for an extensive study of the consumption patterns of household furnishing textiles. "Textile Furnishings: A Case Study of Kent County, Maryland, 1710-1820" (M.A. Thesis, George Washington University, 1983).
2. Lois Green Carr, "Ceramics from the John Hicks Site, 1723-1743: The St. Mary's Town Land Community," *Ceramics in America*, Winterthur Conference Report 1972, ed. by Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1973), p. 76.
3. Kent County *Inventories*, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 3a, 5, 8, 11 and 16. The 60 inventories in each time period were selected in order of appearance in each volume, eliminating only those which fell outside the time period.
4. Marley R. Brown III, "Ceramics from Plymouth, 1621-1835: The Documentary Record," *Ceramics in America*, p. 33.
5. "Blue and White" may also refer to "China" (porcelain) or stoneware, so blue and white objects were only counted when china and stoneware were also present. In one case, fine earthenware plates and bowls were counted as delfware when they were contrasted with coarse ones. "Whiteware" can refer to white saltglazed stoneware, although it was uncommon in the 1740's.
6. The median total estate values were: 1740—£160; 1760—£220; 1780—£321.
7. Although Maryland inventories do not list land, the presence of farm tools, raw materials, housekeeping possessions, and sometimes unharvested crops suggests that the decedent probably had some land of his own. Where wills are available, they list land holdings by name and acreage.
8. In Kent County, there were indentured black as well as white servants. They were valued by name, sex, age and the years remaining in the indenture. Slaves gradually replaced indentured servants and increased in number so that by 1760, more than 60% of the population owned slaves.
9. Lois Carr describes Maryland tenants as tenants at will or holders of short-term leases. Tenants had neither freehold nor an estate sufficient to allow them to vote for delegates to the Maryland Assembly. (Carr, p. 76.) In this study, the term "tenant" has been expanded to include all decedents who were dependents on others for their land and shelter.
10. This distribution is based on the work of Lois Green Carr, previously cited.
11. The most affluent combined farming with other professions such as medicine, law, money brokerage or commodity trading.
12. The aberration in figures of the tenant ownership can be accounted for by the low number of tenants (3) in 1760.
13. Kent County *Inventories*, Vol. 5, p. 54.



14. Eighteenth century inventory references to "China" are generally taken to mean porcelain, usually Chinese wares. In the nineteenth century, the meaning is less clear.
15. The term "Queensware" does not appear in Kent County inventories until the 1780's.
16. Stone, Garry Wheeler, J. Glenn Little III and Stephen Israel, "Ceramics from the John Hicks Site, 1723-1749: The Material Culture," *Ceramics in America*, p. 104.
17. This category has been expanded by the author to include the last two items.
18. Although white delftware chamber pots are commonly found in archaeological sites, they were not found in Kent County inventories. The majority listed in the inventories were made of metal or an unspecified ceramic body.
19. It must be remembered that inventories list possessions that often had been acquired some time before the date of the inventory.
20. *Inventories*, Vol. 2, p. 347.
21. *Inventories*, Vol. 3, p. 353. Note the term "burnt" to describe china appears along with "gilt," "enamel," "red & white" and "blue & white." Burnt china is always at least twice as expensive as other china.
22. *Inventories*, Vol. 5, p. 12.
23. James J. F. Deetz, "Ceramics from Plymouth, 1635-1835: The Archaeological Evidence," *Ceramics in America*, p. 33.
24. Philip Davis' 1740 inventory listed a "brass charger," but that was the only use of the term found in the survey. (*Editor's Note: This brass item may have been a loading accoutrement for a fowling piece.*)
25. Deetz, p. 17.
26. *Inventories*, Vol. 8, p. 162.
27. *Inventories*, Vol. 5, p. 69.
28. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh have established inflators and deflators for St. Mary's County. In 1740 and 1760 the Maryland pound was inflated by a factor of 1.5 in relation to the value of currency in 1700. "Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658-1777," *Historical Methods* 13 (Spring, 1980).
29. "2 Dutch Dishes" — estate of Henry Green, *Inventories*, Vol. 1, p. 43. "2 Large Dishes B<sup>RE</sup>" — estate of Jacob Young, *Inventories*, Vol. 1, p. 85. "2 white earthen dishes" — estate of Jacob Young, *Inventories*, Vol. 1, p. 85. It has been presumed that the delftware used in Kent County was manufactured in England due to the embargo which prohibited the importation of foreign painted earthenwares into England and the British Navigation Acts which restricted colonial trade to goods carried in British ships out of British ports. However, the reference to "Dutch dishes" in 1710 and to "Hollandware" in the 1740's may indicate that some Dutch Delftware reached Kent County.
30. "Delph Ware" — estate of William Cooper, *Inventories*, Vol. 16, p. 129. "4 Delft Flower Pots" — estate of Thomas Carvill, *Inventories*, Vol. 16, p. 208.
31. Punch bowls of any kind are only mentioned a few times in 1800 and were not found in 1820 inventories.

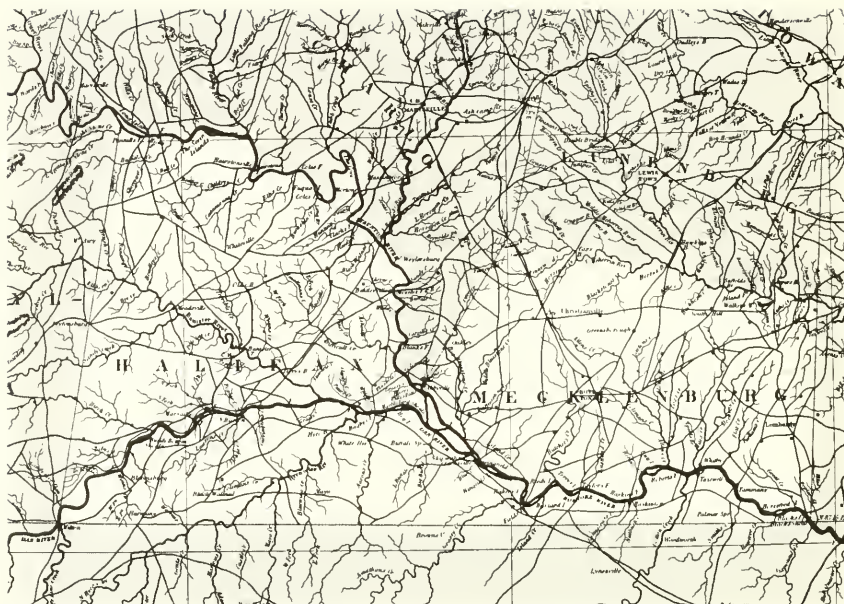


Figure 1. Detail from the 1859 corrected version of Herman Boye's "Map of the State of Virginia," originally published in 1825. The southern borders of Halifax and Mecklenburg County fall on the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia.

## *Style and Technology Shifts in One Virginia Shop*

LUKE BECKERDITE

On the western boundary of Mecklenburg County, Virginia, the Staunton and Dan rivers converge to form the Roanoke River (Fig. 1), which continues on a southeasterly course to its terminus in North Carolina's Albemarle Sound. Settlement of this region, part of the area known as "southside" Virginia, progressed more slowly than in the northern Piedmont and Shenandoah Valley. The lack of good river transportation to the east and expense and difficulties of overland trade with ports such as Norfolk no doubt contributed to the slow development of this region. After noting in 1738 that "lands lying upon Roanoke River, on the southern boundary of this colony, are for the most part unseated and uncultivated," the Virginia Assembly attempted to encourage settlement by exempting new landholders from public, parish, and county taxes for ten years.<sup>1</sup> Although a few large land grants were made to speculators like William Byrd II, settlement by colonists migrating from the Tidewater region continued in a slow but steady stream during the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Valley of Virginia, settlement by Scots Irish and German colonists emigrating from the Middle Atlantic region was restricted due to the route of the "Great Wagon Road" which bypassed all but the southwestern counties of Piedmont Virginia.

During the last half of the eighteenth century, eight new counties were formed on either side of the Roanoke River and its principal branches, the Dan and Staunton rivers, from the earlier counties of Brunswick and Lunenburg. A significant increase in population also occurred during this period. Returns from the 1790 Census of the United States record 9,157 free persons living in Halifax County and 9,971 living in Mecklenburg County. The average number of free persons per county in

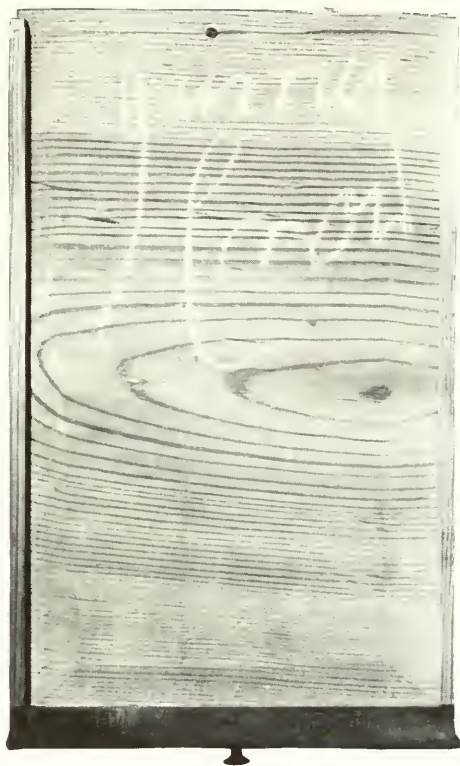
the United States was 5,833.<sup>3</sup> The two Virginia counties were also well above the average in slave holdings. Although comparisons of aggregate slave holdings provide little information regarding the distribution of wealth within a given county, they are useful in determining a county's relative wealth. Halifax County exceeded the average of 3,752 slaves by more than thirty percent (5,565). Mecklenburg County was over forty-four percent above the average with holdings of 6,762 slaves.<sup>4</sup> By 1790, it would appear that the population and wealth of southside Virginia was sufficient to provide significant support for the trades. This period of growth coincides with the development of a large school of cabinetmaking in the Roanoke River Basin of Halifax and Mecklenburg County.\*

Fifteen of the many recorded case pieces in the Roanoke River Basin School can be attributed to a single cabinet shop. Ten representative examples have been chosen for illustration and discussion in this article. The products of this shop are described here as the "Crow group" after a chalk inscription (Fig. 2) on the left interior drawer bottom of the desk-and-bookcase in Fig. 3. Although there is no record of a James Crow living in either Halifax or Mecklenburg County during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a John Crow purchased land in Mecklenburg County on 13 October 1783.<sup>5</sup> In 1800, both John Crow and his son William were recorded as living in the same tax district as John Winckler,<sup>6</sup> the original owner of the desk-and-bookcase in Fig. 3. John Winckler was a silversmith who moved from North Carolina to Mecklenburg County, Virginia, in 1778.<sup>7</sup> As the small watch hooks attached to the interior valances suggest, the desk-and-bookcase may have been a fixture in Winckler's shop. Following the silversmith's death in August, 1803,<sup>8</sup> the desk-and-bookcase has a direct history of descent through four generations of the Winckler family.

The Winckler desk-and-bookcase is solidly constructed of walnut and yellow pine. The top of the desk section is blind dovetailed to the sides, although the bottom dovetail pins are exposed (Fig. 4). Both the drawer runners and drawer blades are fitted into blind dovetailed grooves from the back of the case

*\*Editor's Note:* The reader should be aware that there was also a Roanoke River Basin "school" of cabinetmaking in North Carolina, centering upon the area where the boundaries of Northampton, Bertie, and Halifax counties join. No stylistic ties between the Carolina "school" and that in Virginia have been noted to date.

(Fig. 5). This represents a more sophisticated variant of the usual case construction which employs half-dovetailed drawer blades inserted from the front, with the joint concealed by a thin vertical strip of primary wood glued or nailed to the sides. On rural furniture this type of joint is often exposed.



*Figure 2. Detail of the bottom of an interior drawer from the desk-and-bookcase illustrated in Fig. 3. The incised and punched initials of the original owner, John Winckler, appear below the chalk inscription, "James Crow".*

The back boards of the Winckler desk are horizontal, and have rabbeted edges dadoed to the case sides (Fig. 5). After being inserted from the bottom, these boards were nailed to the drawer runners and the rear edges of the writing surface and case bottom. This construction method exposes the drawer runner dovetails (Fig. 5). The construction of the desk's exterior drawers is closely related to the back assembly. The drawer bottoms have rabbeted





*Figure 3. Desk-and-bookcase, 1780-1790, walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA: 86 $\frac{3}{4}$ " , WOA: 44 $\frac{1}{8}$ " , DOA: 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". MESDA accession 2543.*

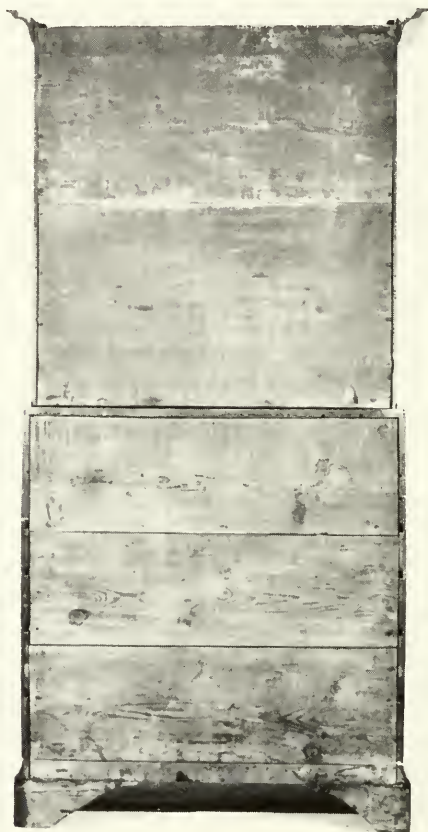
edges, in contrast with the more usual beveled-edge bottom; however, the bottoms fit into the sides with a conventional dado joint. As shown in Fig. 6, these drawers are stopped by thin vertical strips nailed to the back of the case. The interior drawers, unlike the larger drawers, have beveled bottoms dadoed on three sides. They extend beyond the back to stop the drawer against the case (Fig. 2). Although unusual, the radiussed drawer fronts shown in Fig. 2 occur on at least seven other examples in the Crow group (Figs. 10, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, and 23), as well as on one pre-Revolutionary desk with an Orange County, Virginia, history.<sup>9</sup>



*Figure 4. Detail showing the front foot construction and blocking of the desk-and-bookcase illustrated in Fig. 3.*

The weight of the desk-and-bookcase is supported by vertical coved glue blocks that butt against mitered flanking blocks; they are nailed into the feet and case bottom (Fig. 4). Although such nailing is counter to cross-grain shrinkage, the feet of all the Crow

group pieces examined have survived intact. In a manner typical of the group, the rear feet of the desk in Fig. 3 are joined to a shaped bracket with dovetails exposed only at the back (Fig. 5) and the front feet meet in a lap joint that is exposed at the sides (Fig. 4). Both the front and rear feet are held with nails driven vertically into the base molding.



*Figure 5. Detail of the back of the desk-and-bookcase illustrated in Fig. 3.*

Two desks in the Crow group have writing compartments that are virtually identical to the Winckler desk-and-bookcase (Figs. 7-9). While the basic format of interiors with a long central drawer under the prospect door is typical of eighteenth-century desks from the Virginia Tidewater, the Piedmont interiors are stylistically earlier in their corbelled drawer ranks and double-ogee blocking



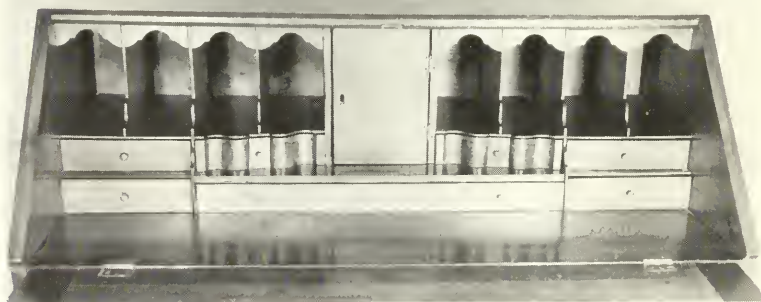
of the drawer fronts. The effect of perspective created by the advancing and receding drawers is rooted in Baroque architectural concepts. The molded edges of the desks' slanted sides (Figs. 3, 7, and 11) are also related to late Baroque desks employing plain, flush-mounted fallboards fitted into a rabbeted and molded case. In the early eighteenth century, these moldings were also occasionally applied to the upper edge of the case. Elements of earlier styles are often found on furniture from rural areas where isolation from style centers lead to conservative tastes. This is well illustrated by the desk in Figs. 7 and 8, which contrasts an early interior with bail brasses and quirk-beaded drawer fronts.



*Figure 6. Detail showing the case construction of the desk section of the desk-and-bookcase illustrated in Fig. 3.*



*Figure 7. Desk, 1775-1790, walnut with yellow pine secondary. Dimensions not recorded. Photograph by Wallace Gusler.*



*Figure 8. Detail of the interior of the desk illustrated in Fig. 7.*

This desk was found in Culpeper County, Virginia; however, its relationship to the Winckler desk-and-bookcase (Fig. 3) is obvious. The case construction is identical, and the feet are supported by vertical, coved glue blocks nailed to the feet and the bottom of the case. The base molding and bracket feet are cut from single pieces mitered at the front corners and nailed to the case. In contrast, the feet of the desk-and-bookcase are separate and the base molding is attached with trunnels (wooden pegs). The most significant variations within the Crow group are found in foot and drawer construction, strongly suggesting that the shop was a large one which employed several hands. This is especially evident in the different forms of blocking found on various pieces which share identical foot profiles.



*Figure 9. Desk, 1775-1790, walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA: 44 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". W"OA: 44", DOA: 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". MESDA research file S-5188.*

The ogee feet of the desk in Fig. 9 have heavily scrolled brackets based on the same pattern used in laying out the feet of several other pieces in the Crow group (Figs. 7, 10, 20, 21, and 23). Unfortunately, evidence of the original foot blocking



*Figure 10. Desk-and-bookcase, 1780-1790, walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA:  $90\frac{1}{16}$ " , WOA:  $45\frac{3}{8}$ " , DOA:  $24\frac{1}{8}$ ". MESDA research file S-7268.*



*Figure 11. Desk-and-bookcase, 1780-1790, walnut and walnut veneer with yellow pine secondary. HOA: 92 $\frac{1}{8}$ " , W'OA: 45" , DOA: 23". MESDA research file S-5865.*



has been obscured by modern replacements. The case construction parallels other examples in the group with the exception of the partitions separating the upper drawer and fallboard supports. These partitions were inserted from the back rather than being set in from the front with a half-dovetail joint (Fig. 7). The exterior drawer construction of this desk and the pieces illustrated in Figs. 7-15 and 20-23 differs from the Winckler desk-and-bookcase in having bottoms with beveled edges that are dadoed on three sides. In the Crow group, both nails and trunnels were used in securing drawer bottoms and moldings. However, the use of alternative fasteners is not surprising considering the few towns and relative isolation of Mecklenburg and Halifax County.



*Figure 12. Detail of the frieze and cornice of the bookcase section of the desk-and-bookcase illustrated in Fig. 11. The decoration may have been stencilled.*

Two desks with bookcases in the group (Figs. 10 and 11) have interiors with plain drawer fronts and a long central drawer surmounted by a flat-paneled prospect door. This design, which also occurs in the Rappahanock River Basin of northern Piedmont Virginia, is more closely associated with Tidewater Virginia production than the interior plan of the preceding desks. Apparently,

the concept of a perspective interior was present in the design of these writing compartments as well. The ink inscriptions "Prospect," "Right Prospect," and "Left Prospect" were written on the door and flanking drawers of the desk-and-bookcase in Fig. 11. These notations were made before the drawers were assembled.

Originally, the feet of both desks were backed by coved glue blocks that butted against mitered flankers like the Winckler example (Fig. 4). The feet of the desk-and-bookcase in Fig. 9 evidently have been removed from the case and their order reversed upon reattachment, causing the lap joint to be visible at the front; the coved blocks were replaced with squared members in the course of this alteration. The bookcase section of Fig. 11 presents an interesting departure from other pieces in the Crow group in having a veneered frieze with painted lozenges below the cornice molding (Fig. 12). This decoration evidently was intended to simulate inlay.



*Figure 13. Chest of drawers, 1775-1790, walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA: 35", W'OA: 41", DOA: 22½". MESDA research file S-2513.*



*Figure 14. Detail of the back of the chest of drawers illustrated in Fig. 13.*



*Figure 15. Detail of the foot blocking of the chest of drawers illustrated in Fig. 13.*



Further evidence of stylistic influence from the Tidewater region can be found in the chest of drawers illustrated in Fig. 13. The "Chinese" form of this chest is closely related to two chests attributed to Williamsburg, Virginia, one of which has a history of ownership in the Michael family of Mecklenburg County.<sup>11</sup> Another small group of Tidewater chests is stylistically related to this example, but, like the Williamsburg chests, they reveal different construction methods.<sup>12</sup> From the technological viewpoint, this chest (Fig. 13) is firmly within the Crow group. The top and sides are joined with blind dovetails, drawer blades and runners are set in from the back, the back boards have rabbeted edges dadoed to the sides (Fig. 14), and the case is supported by coved glue blocks (Fig. 15). These blocks were nailed directly to the bottom rather than being attached to flankers like those of the desk-and-bookcase in Fig. 4. The base molding and feet were cut from one piece like the desk in Fig. 7; however, the profile of the feet is more closely associated with those in Figs. 3 and 11.



Figure 16. Chest of drawers, 1775-1790, walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA: 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", W'OA: 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", DOA: 21 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". MESDA research file S-2515.



*Figure 17. Detail of the rear foot construction, blocking, and base molding of the chest of drawers illustrated in Fig. 16.*

Other variations in foot and base molding construction can be observed in the chest of drawers in Fig. 16. The base molding was run on framing members which extend under the case (Fig. 17) and are mitered at the front corners and nailed to the bottom. Rather than being coved, the glue blocks of this chest were cut diagonally and wrought nailed through the frame into the bottom (Fig. 17). Although the inner profiles of the bracket feet differ slightly from other examples (Figs. 7, 9, 10, 18, 19, and 21), the design is clearly associated with them.

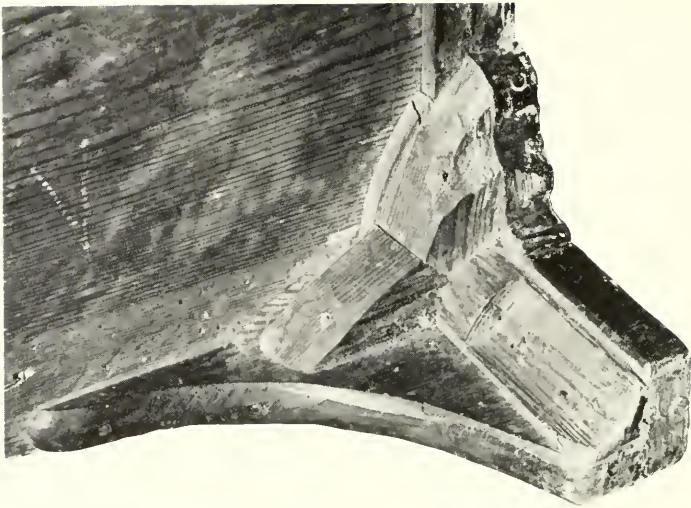
The unusual chests of drawers in Figs. 18, 20, 21, and 23 are of a form that appears to be indigenous to the Roanoke River Basin, with the largest concentration originating in Mecklenburg and Halifax County. These chests are distinguished by having a central cabinet or prospect flanked by deep drawers, the faces of which have been struck off with sunk beading that matches the edge quirks, providing the appearance of a double tier of drawers. The form of desk interiors may have provided the inspiration for this design, since the chest doors usually conceal smaller drawers inside. Further evidence of this relationship can be noted in the two chests (Figs. 21 and 23) which are equipped with recessed prospect doors. In concept, this is related to the perspective interiors of the desks in Figs. 3, 8, and 9.

The walnut chest in Fig. 18 is closely associated with the more traditional chest of drawers discussed earlier (Fig. 16). Like many other pieces in the group (Figs. 3, 11, 20, and 23), it has a

Mecklenburg County history. The pattern of the high bracket feet and both the profiles and method of attachment of the base moldings (Figs. 18 and 19) are virtually identical. The foot blocking is similar to the desks with bookcases (Figs. 3, 10, and 11) though two thin mitered flankers that function as filler blocks were added (Fig. 19). Two types of drawer construction are employed on the chest. The upper drawers flanking the door have beveled bottoms that are dadoed on three sides, in contrast with the lower drawer bottoms which have rabbeted edges. Although the presence of journeyman labor could account for the difference, it is equally plausible that the cabinetmaker found it more convenient to finish the larger bottoms of the case drawers in the same fashion in which he rabbeted the back boards of the case.



*Figure 18. Chest of drawers, 1775-1790, walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA: 44", W'OA: 44", DOA: 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". MESDA research file S-7248.*



*Figure 19. Detail of the rear foot construction, blocking, and base molding of the chest of drawers illustrated in Fig. 18.*



*Figure 20. Chest of drawers, 1775-1790, walnut with yellow pine secondary. Dimensions not recorded. MESDA research file S-2497.*



The chest in Fig. 20 relates closely to the design of the preceding example. Both have double-ogee arched prospect doors, similar base and cornice moldings, and quirk-beaded drawer fronts. The base molding of Fig. 20 is attached directly to the case, and the feet are mitered together and backed with diagonally-cut vertical blocks nailed to the bottom. The bracket feet of this chest of drawers were laid out with the same pattern used in cutting the ogee feet of Figs. 9, 21, and 23 and are important in illustrating the relationship between this group and the examples in Figs. 7 and 10.



*Figure 21. Chest of drawers, 1775-1790, walnut with yellow pine secondary. HOA: 44 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", W<sup>OA</sup>: 41 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", DOA: 19 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". MESDA research file S-3928.*



*Figure 22. Detail of the foot construction and blocking of the chest of drawers illustrated in Fig. 21.*

The ogee feet of the last two chests in the Crow group (Figs. 21 and 23) are joined with blind dovetails at the front and are dovetailed to shaped brackets nailed to the back from below (Fig. 22). Although the vertical blocks of the chest in Fig. 23 are missing, surviving mitered flankers indicate that they were originally present. This type of blocking differs from the other chest, which has diagonally cut blocks nailed to the bottom of the case (Fig. 22). Variations can also be observed in the partitions between the prospect doors and upper drawers of these chests. On the first chest (Fig. 21) the partitions were dovetailed into the drawer blade from the rear, and on the second they were set in from the front and the joint left exposed. The quarter columns of both chests were made in three sections. A certain lack of architectural understanding is evident in the quarter column application (Fig. 24) of the chest in Fig. 23 in that the same turnings are used for both bases and capitals. Naive interpretations of the classical orders are often encountered on rural furniture.





Figure 23. Chest of drawers, 1775-1790, walnut with yellow pine and walnut secondary. HOA:  $36\frac{7}{8}$ ", W"OA: 44", DOA: 21". MESDA research file S-11059.



Figure 24. Detail of a quarter column on the chest of drawers illustrated in Fig. 23.

As all of these examples show, the Crow group exhibits a diversity of style and construction not often encountered in the production of a single rural shop. Evidence suggests that this may have been the result of the shop's employment of journeyman labor, in addition to efforts to increase efficiency, the combined influence of styles transmitted from the northern Piedmont and Tidewater regions, and the tastes of patrons. Although shifting technology and style make the study of this group a complex one, variations that do exist are based on closely related concepts and techniques of construction.

*Mr. Beckerdite is Research Associate for MESDA.*

## FOOTNOTES

1. Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), V. 2, p. 562.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 568-569.
3. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790, Virginia* (Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company, 1974), p. 9.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Mecklenburg County Deed Book* 6, p. 314.
6. *Mecklenburg County Tax List, 1800*. John and William Crow and John Winckler and his son, John Winckler, Jr. are listed in the "Lower District."
7. George Barton Cuten, *The Silversmiths of Virginia from 1694 to 1850* (Richmond: The Deitz Press, Inc., 1952), p. 79.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Wallace B. Gusler, "Queen Anne Style Desks from the Virginia Piedmont," *The Magazine Antiques*, October 1973, V. 104, No. 4, pp. 665-673.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 667.
11. Wallace B. Gusler, *Furniture of Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia, 1710-1790* (Richmond: The Virginia Museum, 1979), p. 131.
12. MESDA research file nos. S-5431 and S-5841.

*MESDA seeks manuscripts which treat virtually any facet of southern decorative art for publication in the JOURNAL. The MESDA staff would also like to examine any privately-held primary research material (documents and manuscripts) from the South, and southern newspapers published in 1820 and earlier.*

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